

Party Building and Political Leadership

WM. Z. FOSTER

ALEX BITTELMAN

JAMES W. FORD

CHARLES KRUMBEIN

10 CENTS

THREE SPEECHES of WORLD SIGNIFICANCE

The Communists in the People's Front

Earl Browder10

Mastering Bolshevism

Joseph Stalin05

Organizational Problems of the Communist Party

A. A. Zhdanov10

For complete catalogue of Marxist-Leninist
literature write to

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D

New York City

PARTY BUILDING AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Organizing Methods in the Steel Industry

OTHER PAMPHLETS BY
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

●
A Manual of Industrial Unionism
10 cents

●
What Means a Strike in Steel
5 cents

●
Questions and Answers on the
Piatakov-Radek Trial
10 cents

●
The Crisis in the Socialist Party
5 cents

●
Organizing Methods in the Steel Industry
5 cents

●
Industrial Unionism
5 cents

●
Unionizing Steel
5 cents

PARTY BUILDING
AND POLITICAL
LEADERSHIP

BY

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

ALEX BITTELMAN

JAMES W. FORD

CHARLES KRUMBEIN

PUBLISHED BY
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC.
110 N. O. BOX 1 W. YORK CITY
NEW YORK
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

The first two articles in this book are reports delivered at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., held June 17-20, 1937. The second two articles are excerpts from reports at the same meeting.

PUBLISHED BY
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, INC.
P. O. BOX 148, STA. D, NEW YORK CITY

AUGUST, 1937

209

CONTENTS

PARTY BUILDING AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

By William Z. Foster

7

THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

By Alex Bittelman

77

DEVELOPING NEGRO COMMUNIST LEADERS

By James W. Ford

102

PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING LEADING FORCES

By Charles Krumbein

115

Party Building and Political Leadership

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

PART I

IN THE United States, under the blows of the difficult economic situation and the threat of political reaction, the masses are moving towards the People's Front; they are being rapidly radicalized and are breaking the leading strings that held them so long under the control of the capitalist class. There is a deep class differentiation and shifting of class forces. This is shown by the unparalleled regrouping of political and economic organizations during the past year, including splits in the Republican, Democratic

and Socialist parties, the rise and breakup of the Townsend and Coughlin movements and the deep split in the American Federation of Labor, and also especially by the growth of the C.I.O., Labor's Non-Partisan League, the great peace movement, the youth and women's movements, etc. Especially are the forces of reaction and incipient fascism grouping themselves around the Republican Party, and those of democratic progress around Roosevelt.

But the Communist Party and the *Daily Worker* do not experience an organic growth corresponding to the expanding mass movement of the toilers. Our Party is active in every phase of the developing People's Front movement and it has greatly increased its prestige and forces in mass organizations of all kinds—trade unions, labor parties, fraternal, national, farmer, youth, Negro, women, peace, anti-fas-

cist, labor defense, unemployed, veterans, as well as in political life generally. This lays a sure basis for future growth, but for the present the expansion of the Party and the *Daily Worker* lags badly. Thus, during the past year, a period of unparalleled mass organization and class struggle, our Party's membership has fluctuated around 40,000, and the circulation of the *Daily Worker* stagnates.

The problem of speeding up the growth of the Party and its press, of liquidating the contradiction between the rapid intensification of the class struggle and the slow growth of our Party constitutes the most urgent issue now before the Party.

Before analyzing this problem it is necessary first to eliminate a harmful misconception. This is the opinion that the economic situation in the United States is not favorable to the rapid growth of the Communist Party,

that the Communist Party cannot grow in periods of "prosperity" but requires a situation of economic crisis or depression.

Such a notion is basically wrong. The growth of the Communist Party is conditioned by a whole complex of factors, not the economic question of industrial production alone. When, as at present, with some 9,000,000 workers unemployed, with the cost of living rapidly rising, with the masses more conscious of economic and political grievances than ever, with millions of workers and other toilers organizing and fighting, the groundwork is at hand for a rapid expansion of the Communist Party's strength and influence. Therefore, if our Party and its press are not now growing faster the reasons are not to be found in an unfavorable objective situation, but in other factors which we shall develop as we go along. There is absolutely no

reason in the objective situation why our Party should not be numerically several times stronger than it is at the present time.

REVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONAL CONDITIONS AND METHODS

That the Party as a whole needs greatly to improve its organizational work, its recruitment and assimilation of new members goes without saying. There is the grossest neglect of this fundamental question. Without definite improvement in this vital work all talk of building the Party and its press will remain fruitless.

The Resolution of the June Plenum of the Central Committee correctly calls for "a general review of the organizational conditions and methods of the Party."* This general review

* *Resolutions of the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party*, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 10 cents.

and the improvements that should result from it must have as its starting point the strengthening of the Party's united front alliances, of developing the Party's contacts in the numerous mass organizations, of intensifying the toilers' struggle and raising it to higher political levels, and of fulfilling the Party's general tasks in the developing People's Front movement. Examined from this standpoint, the following can be summed up as an outline of some of the Party's major organizational tasks.

A. *A greater organizational consciousness.* Our Party needs further education in the necessity of carrying on systematic Party organizational work. Too much reliance is still placed on mere agitation, the regular building of the Party being left largely to spontaneity. This situation must be drastically corrected. The whole Party membership must be made acutely organization conscious, and educated

never to forget that the building of a great mass Communist Party is the center of all of our activities. Party building must be made the central issue everywhere and at all times throughout the Party.

B. *Intensified preparation of cadres.* The cadre question also must be reshaped in view of the present situation. Our whole system of the training of cadres must be broadened and speeded up to satisfy the great demand for trained personnel created by the growing mass struggle and the multiplying activities of our Party. It must be especially directed toward producing the new types of cadres demanded by the new mass organizations. All our schools must be extended.

We must especially adopt a bolder policy of promoting comrades to more responsible work, and thus bring out their latent abilities. While stressing the great importance of the cadre ques-

tion we must not, however, fail to combat the wrong theories of those who try to justify inexcusable inactivity by urging a lack of capable cadres.

c. *Link together the Party's organizational and educational work.* The education and organization of workers are essentially one process, both on a Party and mass scale, and the two phases of the work must be closely coordinated. The combination of the two former separate agitprop and organization departments into the educational-organizational department is an important step forward in the methods of Party building and mass work, and the full logic of it must be developed throughout the districts. This department should study the methods of agitation and organization used by various other organizations—political parties, trade unions, fraternal organizations, etc. The department should also send out instructors to the districts to

check up on the carrying out of its directives.

d. *Connect Party recruiting with the mass movement.* Party building must be made an organic part of every mass campaign of the Party. The education-organization department must concern itself directly with the planning of our mass work and weave into it the various tasks of Party building. Heretofore, Party building has been considered too much as a separate Party activity, detached from actual mass work. Thus, for example, during the recent election campaign, many big mass meetings were held; radio speeches delivered; literature distributed; etc., in which no appeal whatever was made actually to draw workers into the ranks of our Party.

The Party must also fight energetically against the "stages" theory of organization; which is, that first we build the mass organization and later the

Party. Party building must be a continuous process, proceeding simultaneously with the development of the mass campaigns, and must not be the object simply of occasional Party recruiting drives. The *Party Organizer* should be broadened out from its present narrow inner-Party line (that is, its dealing almost entirely with purely Party affairs), and should also concern itself directly with all important problems of mass organization, linking Party building with them.

E. New methods of Party recruiting. Our methods of recruiting members into the Party should be restudied with regard to our united front situation in the developing People's Front movement. Very often prevailing methods of recruitment are too narrow, too much confined to close Party circles. We must find broader approaches to the awakening masses and develop systematic efforts to recruit among them

on the basis of the shop, union, family, friends, neighborhood, fraternal organizations, etc. Special attention must be paid to developing recruiting activities by all our contacts in the mass organizations, particularly our hundreds of new functionaries. Also, the fractions should be given more responsibility for Party recruiting. A better planning and check-up should be developed for all recruitment work.

F. Reduction in membership fluctuation. Our efforts to correct the evil of membership fluctuation, through which we lose a large percentage of the new members recruited yearly, must also be based upon the united front situation of the Party and the tasks of the developing mass movement. There must be a better distribution of tasks to new members, a more systematic education of these new members, a better dues collection system, a more thorough check-up on those who have

dropped out of the Party, the raising of the political tone of the unit life, etc.

G. *Connect the Daily Worker more closely with the mass movement.* The problem of improving the circulation of the *Daily Worker* must also be examined in the light of our tasks in the growing People's Front movement. In the first place, it is necessary to link the paper up more closely with the workers' struggles. The *Daily Worker* must be not only a first-class journal of general labor information and comment; it must especially be a fighting organ and leader of the mass struggle. It must be reorganized as the main agitational expression of the Party. The paper should display greater initiative in the inauguration and intensification of the mass struggle by systematic exposures of bad conditions in plants; concentrated reporting of strike situations; specially organized

circulation of the paper in struggle zones, etc. The special editions in the auto strikes, the steel strikes and the Minnesota elections are very good steps in this general direction.

This sharpening up of the role of the *Daily Worker* as the outstanding leading fighting paper of the workers can only be successful provided it is backed up by a better organization of the circulation department. At present there is gross neglect in circulating the paper at mill gates, union meetings, and in many other situations where the workers welcome it. It is necessary that skilled assistance be brought into the circulation department to organize our circulation methods on a modern basis. There should be developed in the Party a spirit and organization something similar to the old *Appeal Army*. Circulation of the *Daily Worker* should be raised to the height of a major political task.

H. *Strengthen the shop papers.* Our shop papers also face new problems in connection with the organization of huge masses of unorganized into the C.I.O. unions. These papers are not prospering as they should. Some are displaying a tendency to stagnate and this must be corrected; for the shop papers can be built into powerful weapons to bring the Party's policy to the masses, and generally to show the face of the Party in the shops.

I. *Self-criticism, Party democracy and collective leadership.* Improvement in all these elementary respects is necessary for the strengthening of our Party politically and organizationally. There must be a better examination made of our weaknesses—a franker admission of errors, if we are to sharpen up our policies and activities; a better combination of democratic procedure with firm Communist discipline, if we are to give the workers

more of a feeling of active participation in the life of the Party, and a more systematic development of collective leadership if we are to develop the best leading and working ability that our Party has in its forces.

Substantial improvement of the Party's organizational methods along the above-suggested lines is bound to result in a decided speeding up of Party building. It would result in much growth for our Party and the strengthening of its influence on all fronts. The need of the betterment of our organization work, therefore, cannot be overstressed.

PART II

PARTY BUILDING—BETTER POLITICAL WORK

Effective political work among the masses is, of course, fundamental to the building of the Party and its press. In this sense, the resolution of the June Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party says:

"In this way, the Communist Party must guard against the danger of dissolving itself in the general mass movement either ideologically or organizationally. It must aim to become more and more the initiating, organizing and unifying force of the People's Front movement and, at the same time, the gathering, organizing and recruiting center of the most advanced elements of that movement. This should express itself in the mass agitation of the Party, in its independent activities of various forms, and in the central organ of the Party, the *Daily Worker*. This strengthening of the initiative and of the independent political activity of the Party can be only beneficial to the successful development

of the People's Front. And, in turn, only the most powerful development of the people's mass movement can create the most favorable condition for the growth and strengthening of the Communist Party."

How, concretely, can we carry out these elementary Party tasks? How can we apply them in the present situation of growing mass struggle and utilize them most effectively for the building of our Party and the *Daily Worker*? In order to answer these fundamental questions it will be well for us to examine in detail the degree and manner in which the Communist Party is realizing, in the concrete situation of the rapidly growing American People's Front, its historic role as vanguard of the proletariat.

As our approach to this very important question which is so vital in Party building we will do well to study the experiences of the Communist Parties in France and Spain. In these two countries (not to mention China,

Chile, Mexico and elsewhere) strong People's Fronts have developed and the Communist Parties have also grown rapidly. Thus, in France the Communist Party in the last eighteen months has leaped up from some 60,000 to 325,000 members and its political influence has been enormously increased; in Spain a similar development has taken place, the Communist Party there growing from 50,000 to 300,000 in ten months.

When we examine the French and Spanish situations we at once note that in France and Spain the Communist Parties are in strong positions of political leadership in the People's Front. They are real vanguard parties. This fact is of vast importance in their having achieved so much organizational growth. For by the excellent political work in their respective People's Front by which they convinced the masses of workers of the politically ad-

vanced role of the Communist Party, these two parties have also, at the same time, laid the groundwork for easy recruitment of the most advanced elements into the Party. When the French workers once saw clearly the leading role of the Communist Party and realized how necessary our Party was, particularly in the everyday struggles for immediate demands, they readily affiliated themselves with it. In fact, it is only to the degree the workers anywhere recognized this politically leading role of the Communist Party that they take up seriously the job of building the Party on a mass basis.

Consider concretely the situation in France: In the French People's Front the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard stands out sharp and clear, although the official posts are mostly held by other parties. The Communist Party proposed the People's Front in the first place, was the main factor in

organizing it, took a very prominent part in the recent victorious election campaign, was the most active force in reestablishing trade union unity and organizing four million workers and it is now the militant fighter for every step forward of the People's Front. All of which leading activity is quite obvious to great masses of workers and this, therefore, develops among them a powerful impetus to join such a politically strong party.

In Spain the Communist Party is also in a minority so far as holding official posts in the People's Front is concerned, but it has, if anything, played a still more outstanding leading political role. It, too, originated the proposal for a People's Front and was its main organizer, and it has also taken directly the lead for nearly every important measure to strengthen the struggle against Franco, including the powerful mobilization of its forces in

the army, the better consolidation of the government, a unified military command, a firm army discipline and a concentrated defense of Madrid, the improvement of industrial production, etc. The result is that militant Spanish workers see clearly the advanced role of the Communist Party and thus are ready to affiliate themselves with this powerful and intelligent political organization.

In the United States, however, the Communist Party, while moving in that direction, does not yet occupy such a definite leading political position in the various mass movements making up the developing People's Front. While the Party is undoubtedly giving the broad theoretical leadership to the growing People's Front movement, the actual and immediate and official leadership of the day-to-day struggles which are decisive in winning the general political support of the masses rests most-

ly in other hands than those of the Communist Party. Thus, in its Party building our Party lacks the outstanding leading mass prestige enjoyed by the French and Spanish parties, and manifestly this makes our Party recruitment and membership assimilation considerably more difficult.

The most elementary reasons why the French and Spanish Communist Parties occupy a stronger politically leading position among the masses than does our Communist Party are pretty obvious. Sound policies, militantly applied, are fundamental in their success; but underlying this is the basic factor that the fascist and war dangers are more acute in these countries than in the United States and this inclines the toiling masses who are also more class conscious than in the United States, the readier to follow the militant lead of the revolutionary Communist Party in the People's Front.

It would be a grave political error, however, to conclude from this that, therefore, our Party is in no way responsible for its relatively weak degree of mass political leadership and can do nothing substantial about it except to plug along and await the ripening of the class struggle. Such a fatalistic passivity is groundless. It lies distinctly within the power of the Party, through the further development and improvement of its political work, and the improvement of its methods of work, greatly to improve the Party's prestige among the masses and hence to speed up the Party's growth.

PARTY MASS LEADERSHIP AND PARTY GROWTH

The direct relationship between the growth of the Communist Party and the degree of the Party's mass political leadership is abundantly demonstrated not only by the foregoing comparisons

with the French and Spanish Communist Parties, but also by our own experience. Our Party history teaches us that the more clearly the workers have seen the vanguard role of our Party the more readily they have joined the Party and, what is no less important, the more firmly they have maintained their membership once they joined. And by the same token, when for any reason the leading role of our Party has been obscured the problems of Party recruitment and membership fluctuation have always become much more difficult.

It is precisely in those districts and situations where the Party has the most political prestige that Party building is the easiest. Thus it is that in the best recruiting district, New York, where, through the broad circulation of the *Daily Worker*, the great May Day demonstrations and Madison Square Garden meetings, the indepen-

dent Party activities in strikes, etc., as well as by systematic work inside the trade unions and other mass organizations, the workers are made, in large measure, to see the face of the Party and to feel its power as a leading political force. In California, the second best recruiting district, the Party also enjoys much prestige as a political leader, won during several years of agricultural workers' strikes, marine workers' strikes, the San Francisco general strike, etc., in which struggles the Party did not hide its light under a bushel, but, to a considerable extent at least, appeared before the workers as their practical, daily political leader.

To the foregoing examples could be added many more from our Party's past, illustrating the same fact. Thus, in the great unemployed campaigns of 1929-33, during which our Party occupied a strong leading position before the masses, Party building was

greatly facilitated, although we did not fully utilize the favorable situation. Likewise, during the big T.U.U.L. coal strike of 1930, where the Party leadership was clearly recognized by the striking masses, 1,100 miners were recruited into the Party in the Pittsburgh district with little effort. And, similarly, one of the best periods of Party growth was during the great strike wave of 1933-36, in which, through the wide activity of the Trade Union Unity League and our Party directly, the Party's leading role was much emphasized and made visible to the masses.

On the other hand, by the reverse operation of the same principle, our Party's history also provides many instances where Party building has been hampered by the Party's failure to develop political leadership. This was notably the case in our many "Left" sectarian enterprises of the past, in-

cluding the skeleton Trade Union Unity League unions, narrow Labor Parties, etc. While in such cases the leading role of the Party seemed greatly to be emphasized, this was only in a pseudo sense. In reality, the Party was only being exposed in its isolation and its leadership lacked the necessary mass basis. Besides these sectarian tendencies which injured the Party's mass leadership, there was also in our history much Right opportunism by which our Party also obscured its leading role. Thus, in various united front mass movements the Party tended to lose its identity in the general work and consequently failed to develop the definite and visible mass leadership necessary for the most effective Party building. Evidences of this Right tendency are especially to be found in abundance in the present great organizing campaigns in steel, auto, textile, etc., and the danger from this source

increases as our united front work expands.

I have remarked earlier that it lies distinctly within the power of the Party very substantially to improve its position of political mass leadership. Intense mass work on a united front basis is, of course, the starting point for all growth of the Party. But in doing such work the Party must not be simply a helper or auxiliary to the various current mass movements, of tailing after them politically, of liquidating itself into them. It is not enough that the Party be active; its activities must also take on a leading character. In all these mass movements the Party must find the ways and means to stand out clearly as the most constructive force, as the real political leader of the masses in the daily fight as well as in general theory. The more the Party succeeds in accomplishing this objective, the easier and

quicker it will grow in numbers and influence.

But the Party cannot improve its degree of leadership arbitrarily or artificially. It cannot be done by a grabbing for official posts in mass organizations, or by vain boasts of Communist achievements in the class struggle, or simply by putting out more radical slogans than those of the basic mass movements, or by merely insisting that our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Such mechanical attempts to win leadership can only weaken the growing united front and isolate the Party from the masses. The Party can develop leading prestige only by carrying through a whole series of practical political and organizational measures, by proving in the daily struggle that it is actually the most intelligent and militant influence in the working class.

THE PARTY'S CHANGING STATUS IN
THE CLASS STRUGGLE

In weighing the problem of developing and strengthening the Party's mass leadership and thereby of building the Party more rapidly, it is necessary to consider two important changes that have been brought about recently in the Party's position in the class struggle by the developing People's Front movement. The first of these is that numerous mass movements, officially led by non-Communists (but in which Communists actively participate) have now taken up and made their own, various progressive slogans and activities in the advocacy and pursuance of which our Party had for many years a sort of "monopoly." The second important change in the Party's situation is that the Party has recently passed over from a position of relative isolation to one of broad united front action.

Let us consider first the ending of the Party's "monopoly" of various progressive slogans. It is an incontestable fact that for a long period our Party practically stood alone in defending many of the most elementary slogans and interests of the toiling masses. This was because the A. F. of L. was deeply reactionary and either ignored or fought against everything progressive and because the Socialist Party, although it had many of these issues in its program, was so permeated with opportunism and prostrated by weakness that it did practically nothing about them. But now the situation is radically changed. Huge masses of workers have become conscious of the need for measures and methods once supported almost solely by the Communist Party, and many leaders and great mass movements have developed around these issues. These slogans have passed from the stage of agitation to that of mass

action. Communists can only rejoice at this wide acceptance of our progressive slogans, that the masses are going the way we urged. It shows the role of our Party as the vanguard, that the advancing masses are at last developing a political program of their own in opposition to the bourgeoisie, and are thus laying the foundations for a great People's Front movement in the United States.

Take, for example, the question of industrial unionism. For many years the Communist Party and its immediate allies were practically the only ones to fight, both inside and outside the A. F. of L., for this measure. But the huge C.I.O. movement, headed by John L. Lewis, has now sprung up and the immediate leadership of the fight for industrial unionism has passed into its hands. The C.I.O. has also gained, at the same time, the practical leadership in the organization of the unor-

ganized, another slogan in the application of which the Communist Party alone, for many years, did any serious work.

The same is true regarding leading the opposition against the Green reactionary officialdom in the A. F. of L. This, too, was long carried on almost solely by the Communist Party and the Trade Union Educational League in the face of great persecution; but now this important function has also fallen under the leadership of the C.I.O.

Similarly with regard to the struggle for unemployment relief and social insurance. From 1930 to 1933 especially, the Communist Party and its supporting organizations were the unchallenged mass leaders in this field, militantly conducting huge demonstrations all over the country; while the A. F. of L. leaders trailed after Hoover's starvation program and the Socialist Party was quite inactive. But Roose-

velt, the A. F. of L., the Townsend movement, and many other organizations and leaders have since stepped forth with programs of unemployment relief and social insurance and thereby the leading role of the Communist Party on this question has been greatly obscured.

The Communist Party, the T.U.E.L. and the T.U.U.L. were pioneers also for ten years in advocating a militant strike policy, while the rest of the labor movement, from the A. F. of L. to the Socialist Party, was buried deep in class collaboration and based its activities primarily on a no-strike program. For this militancy we were condemned as disrupters and wreckers of the labor movement. But now the masses in many A. F. of L. organizations, as well as in the C.I.O. itself, have adopted an active strike policy the symbol of which is the sit-down strike. Accordingly, the Communist Party's leadership in this

respect is not so clearly evident as formerly.

Likewise, many other progressive economic and political slogans and programs, long advocated in the unions almost alone by the Communists in the face of great persecution by the officialdom, have now been taken over as their own by these organizations and leaders. Thus in the recent I.L.G.W.U. convention the union leaders were given big ovations and unlimited credit for the splendid success of the union, a success based on policies for advocating which the Communists were expelled wholesale from the same union by the same leaders only a few years ago.

A similar development has taken place in the peace movement. When in the years following the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, the Communist Party called upon the masses to beware of the war danger this was con-

demned as absurd and our warnings were treated as "just so much Moscow propaganda." Our Party then had indeed pretty much a "monopoly" of active anti-war slogans. But now gigantic masses are awake to the war danger and huge peace organizations and movements have developed to combat it. These are extended far beyond the scope of Communist official leadership and the great masses look much more to Roosevelt (even though he has distorted the peace slogans) than to our Party as the leader of the anti-war forces.

Thus it is also in the case of Communist slogans for the struggle against fascism, for labor defense work, for the demands of the youth, Negroes, women, etc., that were once widely condemned as mere Moscow innovations without relation to American life. They have now become largely the demands and the basis of movements of

huge masses, the programs of organizations and leaders who can by no stretch of the imagination be called Communist. All of which goes to show that the so-called impractical Communist Party was indeed the most practical and far-seeing organization, and that our Party has functioned, in the matter of the masses' immediate needs as well as their fundamental revolutionary objective, as the vanguard of the proletariat.

At this point we may well ask ourselves why, if political leadership is such a stimulus to Party growth, did not our Party grow more during the years in which it had so much of a "monopoly" in the advocacy of so many progressive slogans, and why was it that great mass movements which have grown up recently around these issues have done so largely outside the scope of official Communist leadership? The answer to these questions is, first,

that it was precisely in the mass struggles led by our Party around these progressive issues that the difficult task was accomplished of laying the solid foundations of a strong Communist Party in the great American capitalist stronghold; second, that the Communist Party's influence in all the progressive movements of the day, including those under the non-Communist official leadership, far exceeds what appears on the surface and cannot be measured simply by the numerical strength of our Party; and, third, that if the Party did not grow faster and develop more direct leadership in the labor movement during the period in question it was due to a complication of hindering forces, such as sectarian methods of applying mass slogans, inadequate organizational work in the mass movements, fierce resistance by the employers and the government (discharge, blacklist, arrests, clubbings, deporta-

tions, etc.), persecution by labor bureaucrats (expulsions, Red-baiting, etc.), the years' long inner-Party factional struggle, and the demoralization and passivity among the working class caused by many years of A. F. of L. misleadership and capitalist propaganda.

RAISING THE TOILERS' STRUGGLE TO HIGHER POLITICAL LEVELS

Obviously when so many of the immediate-demand slogans long advocated almost solely by the Communists have been adopted by various mass movements not under direct Communist leadership, our tasks with regard to these slogans have been modified and we must reorientate our Party's policy accordingly. How then shall the Communist Party act as vanguard in connection with these slogans? The answer is that basically, the Party must develop further its leading political

role by: (a) pressing for the most energetic application of these immediate-demand slogans; (b) realizing their full implications; (c) preventing their distortion; (d) supplementing them with other mass slogans of a more advanced type. In short, the Communist Party can build up the necessary mass prestige only by taking the lead in raising the whole struggle of the workers and other toilers, notably the C.I.O. movement, to higher political levels. By adopting our immediate-demand slogans the masses have taken a long step forward; it is our task now to lead them politically to more advanced stages, making absolutely certain that the whole mass, especially the C.I.O., moves forward instead of only ourselves, which would result in our breaking away from the masses and becoming isolated. Let us, therefore, examine the above-noted fourfold character of this general task.

A. *Energetic application of the immediate demand slogans.* Although the trade unions and other mass organizations adopt progressive slogans they usually apply them in a relatively sluggish manner. Not only are immediate-demand slogans thus supported halfheartedly, (such as the six-hour day demand by the Railroad Brotherhoods) but also their endorsement is frequently of a formal character (such as the A. F. of L. demand for unemployment insurance). In general, conservative or even progressive leaders of various types of mass organizations, by their hesitancy and timidity, develop only a fraction of the power of the mass movements which they head.

In this fact, the Communist Party finds one of its most important tasks and opportunities for developing political mass leadership. The Party must be the dynamo in all movements of the workers for immediate demands. It

must fight for the actual full realization of these demands. Its members must be the best leaders, fighters, organizers and Jimmie Higginses on every front of the class struggle. They must have the answer to every practical problem as the movement develops; they must spur on the masses; they must arouse the workers' militancy and fighting spirit, they must be the leaven that leaveneth the whole lump. This intensification of the workers' struggle for immediate demands is a veritable cornerstone for Communist Party leadership and growth. In order to achieve it to the maximum possible extent our Party must be more active in initiating mass struggles; it will have to learn how more effectively to concentrate all available forces, both national and local, in a given struggle (better than we did in the General Motors strike) and also how more systematically to combine these forces in the field to carry on

the mass fight (better than we did in the national steel organizing campaign).

B. *Realizing the full implications of mass slogans.* Not only do trade unions and other mass organizations, as at present led, usually apply their progressive immediate demand slogans weakly, but also in a narrow sense. Therefore, another important channel to Communist mass leadership is in broadening out the application of such slogans and the linking together of the scattered struggles around them.

Take, for example, the application of the slogan of "organize the unorganized." Today this is largely confined to the C.I.O. unions. It must also be spread to A. F. of L. and independent unions that do not infringe upon the industries being organized by the C.I.O. Communists must see to it that the "organize the unorganized" slogan is applied upon the widest possible

front. There is very much room for the Party to sharpen up its work on this basic issue and in so doing greatly improve its mass prestige.

In the fight for better wages, shorter hours, etc., it is also the leadership task of the Communists to spread this struggle upon the widest practical basis, to link up the workers' scattered strikes into broad national movements, to raise these economic issues to national political questions of the first magnitude.

And, likewise, in the case of the slogan of trade union unity. The C.I.O.'s application of this slogan, by the building up of its own forces, is excellent. But the Communist unity slogan must be still broader; it must also undertake the organization of the progressive forces within the A. F. of L. actively to support the unionizing campaigns of the C.I.O., to repudiate the splitting policies and misleadership of Green

and Co., and to fight for an eventual general convention of all trade unions, the C.I.O., A. F. of L., Railroad Brotherhoods, etc., to establish trade union unity in the United States on the basis of the C.I.O. program. The Party has not displayed sufficient initiative on this question.

Similarly, it is the task of the Communists to broaden out the application of the industrial unionism slogan. It is well that this slogan be applied by the C.I.O. to the mass production industries. But the question of industrial unionism affects the whole working class and the fight for it must also be carried into the building trades, railroad unions, into all A. F. of L. unions, in the most practical forms adapted to these organizations and industries. Our Party has not done this sufficiently and its mass influence has lagged accordingly.

The progressive wing of the labor

movement, including the Communist Party, tends also to apply too narrowly the slogan of political action by the workers and other toilers. In the matter of election strategy, it is correct, as the C.I.O. advocates, to support progressive candidates on the Democratic ticket against the danger of a reactionary victory. But we must also go much further. The Communist Party must be the leader for the placing of united front candidates independent of the old parties, for the crystallization of all the toilers' scattered political forces into a great national Farmer-Labor Party. Here too our Party, by increased activity, can win a much larger degree of mass leadership than it now enjoys. We must be especially on guard against tendencies to weaken or discard the Farmer-Labor Party slogan.

Many more examples could be cited of progressive slogans narrowly applied in the fields of labor legislation,

in the fight for peace, against fascism, for civil rights, for the rights of youth, Negroes, women, etc. It is the task of the Communists to broaden out these demands and struggles and to realize their full political implications. In the measure that the Party accomplishes this work will its leading prestige expand and the growth of its membership and press be facilitated.

c. *Prevent distortion of slogans.* The Communist Party must also fight against all distortion of popular-demand slogans, whether by progressives or reactionaries. Roosevelt's twisting of the mass anti-war sentiment into a "neutrality" resolution against Spain is an example of such distortion. Then, among many other examples, there is also the notorious demagogic use of democratic and anti-fascist slogans by reactionary elements. Fighting such distortions is a broad road to political leadership by the Communist Party.

d. *The advocacy of more advanced slogans.* Besides intensifying and broadening out the application of current mass immediate-demand slogans, and preventing their distortion, the Communist Party also has before it a fruitful source of mass leadership in putting forth the more advanced immediate-demand slogans as these constantly become necessary and capable of rallying masses in the developing struggle. This is elementary in raising the workers' fight to higher political levels and to do it as a basic function of our Party as the vanguard of the proletariat. Our Party must constantly develop the struggle perspective of the masses; it must be the trail blazer of the exploited generally. The most fatal thing that could happen to our Party's leadership is to neglect this most vital task, and thus to fall politically in the wake of the various sections of the general mass movement.

Our Party's experience offers many examples where we properly take the lead in initiating new, practical mass slogans. An excellent case in point was our launching of the general strike slogan in San Francisco, a step from which our Party gained much real leadership prestige. Our present advocacy of the slogan of the People's Front is another example of good political leadership. But there are also many examples where we have failed to show alertness and where other parties and groups issued burning necessary slogans that won them broad mass support. The Party, to win the maximum mass political leadership, must greatly improve its work in this very important respect.

Our Party must also more energetically show leadership in educating the masses. Especially is this necessary and important in the case of the huge numbers of workers who have recently

joined the C.I.O. unions. We must not stand around and wait until other people take the lead in this trade union education work, and it is precisely the *Daily Worker* that must be developed as the Party's chief instrument in this great work of mass education.

In connection with the general question of advocating advanced slogans and educating the masses the Party must also lay stress upon the mass propagation of its revolutionary objectives. Recently there has been considerable slackness in this respect. The teaching of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist principles of socialism is not merely an inner-Party affair; it is basically a matter of broad mass agitation. Failure militantly to advocate socialism for the United States would weaken our Party's leadership, both among the large numbers of the more militant workers who provide the membership sinew and bones of our Party and also

among the broad masses who are more and more losing faith in the capitalist system and are groping for the revolutionary way out. We must remember that the Communist Party is not only a Party of progressive immediate demands, but also the Party of the proletarian revolution. Any tendency to neglect active propagation of our revolutionary slogans plays directly into the hands of the Trotskyites and others making demagogic use of Left phrasemongering. The development of the maximum Communist mass leadership and Party growth imperatively demands an aggressive propagation of socialism, closely linked up, of course, with the immediate fighting slogans of the toiling masses.

In this brief survey of the Communist task of raising the toilers' struggles to higher political levels it is evident that our Party is not making the fullest use of the broad opportunities

for mass leadership lying wide open before it. It must, therefore, consciously sharpen up its work in this whole matter. The reward for so doing will be a far greater political following and a much easier and more rapid Party growth.

TWO MAJOR CONSIDERATIONS

In carrying out this central task of raising the toilers' struggles to higher levels, to the level of proletarian unity and the People's Front, by militantly intensifying the fight for their immediate demand slogans; by broadening out the application of these slogans, drawing their full implications, preventing their distortion and by initiating new and supplementary slogans of a more advanced type, two elementary considerations must be constantly borne in mind by the Party.

The first is that all this activity must

be based upon the principle of strengthening the united front between the Communists and progressives, anti-fascist forces and, thus, upon advancing the growing People's Front movement. This consideration cannot be emphasized too much. The very heart of Communist policy is the Leninist strategy of the united front for the mobilization of the masses. Only by strengthening the united front can the Communist Party itself become strong and the stronger the Communist Party the stronger the united front. It is precisely because the French and Spanish Communist Parties were the best, most militant fighters for the People's Front that they, themselves, grew so powerful. When we speak of Communist Party political leadership in a practical sense, therefore, we mean Communist leadership in building the united front. The Communists must be the greatest fighters

against any and all tendencies to split or weaken the united front, which is the basis of the broad, growing People's Front movement.

The second elementary consideration to bear in mind in the strengthening of Communist leadership and, hence, of Party building, is that the work of the Party must be carried on so openly that the masses can clearly see what the Party is actually doing. The French and Spanish Parties are not only the best builders of the People's Front, but they work in such a way that the masses can plainly recognize their activity. But with us, hiding the face of the Party is one of our greatest present-day weaknesses. It is a major obstacle to developing the Party's mass leadership and growth. It also seriously exposes the Party to demagogic attacks. This concealment of the Party's face is brought about in many ways, such as failure to circulate

the *Daily Worker*, neglect to cultivate independent mass activities by our Party in struggle situations, by prominent mass workers using undue caution in making known the fact that they are Communists, by ultra-sensitivity to Red-baiting and by otherwise making it impossible for the workers to perceive clearly our Party at work.

Through such face-hiding practices our Party is prevented from getting due credit for very much of the effective work it is doing in the class struggle and thereby serious barriers are erected against the Party's growth. Workers cannot be expected to join a Party which they do not see definitely in action as a Party, nor do they want to affiliate themselves to a semi-underground organization. Face-hiding tendencies in our Party are a harmful Right-sectarian hangover and outgrowth from past persecution experiences and are out of place in the pres-

ent broad united front mass movements. The development of the Party's leading prestige and growth imperatively demands that all such tendencies be liquidated and that our Party be fully legalized in the labor movement.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF GROUP RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE UNITED FRONT

In the preceding section of this article I have dealt with problems of Party mass leadership confronting us with respect to the first element of the recently changed position of our Party in the class struggle; that is, the fact that the developing People's Front movement has taken up and made its own various slogans of immediate demands, the advocacy of which long has been a sort of Communist "monopoly." Now let us consider some of the major problems of Communist leadership arising out of the second element of our Party's newly changed position in

the class struggle, namely, that the Party in the last couple of years, through a successful application of its basic policy, has largely advanced from a status of relatively isolated action to one of intensive united front movements.

We have seen that the united front is our Party's line of action in support of all immediate demands of the masses and that all Communist policy is based on strengthening the united front. But to carry on the united front successfully requires a whole series of complex conditions. The Party can grow in numbers and political mass leadership only if it meets successfully these conditions. That it has not yet thoroughly adapted itself to its united front tasks we shall see at a glance.

Let us see more concretely, then, how the Party should develop its political leading prestige and thereby accelerate its growth under the ex-

panding united front conditions.

A. *The full Communist program.* In his recent speech to the Plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin forcefully pointed out the danger of Communists getting so buried in economic work that they overlook other vital political tasks, in this case the fight against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites. Stalin's warning is full of meaning also for the American Communist Party. For there is a broad tendency throughout the Party, especially in the centers where the C.I.O. is working, to devote the Party's forces to the task of trade union matters to the exclusion of many other important activities. A classical example of this tendency was recently seen in Flint, where the Party became so immersed in the strike and union building that it paid little or no attention to the local city elections, and the Republican Party managed to sneak

into power without serious opposition.

Obviously, with this "bogging down" tendency, the Party cannot function as a real political leader. To develop such leadership it is necessary for the Party to present its whole political program. As things now stand, in various places and with many individuals, there is a tendency for the Party to fall into a sort of trade union economism. This tends to liquidate our Party into the mass trade union movements. The cure is not, as some comrades say, to do less trade union work. But in carrying out this important work the Party must so conduct its activities that the whole Communist program moves forward and not merely a part of it. Failing to bear this consideration clearly in mind definitely limits our political mass leadership.

B. *Criticism of united front allies.* Constructive criticism of those groups and parties with whom we are formal-

ly or informally cooperating in united front mass movements is also fundamental to the development of our Party's mass political leadership and growth, as well as to the health of the mass movement generally. This criticism must not be merely negative in character, that is, by pointing out the shortcomings of our allies; it must especially be positive by the assertion of our own constructive proposals and program.

But here, again, in this constructive criticism our Party suffers grievous weaknesses. In some cases (Detroit, for example) Communists have too sharply and also incorrectly criticized the progressive elements and thereby needlessly alienated great masses of workers. But in the main our weakness in this general respect consists of making too little criticism of progressively-led movements. This Right tendency is manifested, among other examples, by

inadequate criticism of Roosevelt and Lewis, and by a failure to put forward our own program (including our revolutionary slogans) in the mass movements led by these men.

The general effect of failure to criticize constructively is to blunt our Party's line, to fail to make our Party's program stand out distinctly in relation to those of the various mass movements that we are supporting. This blunting of the Party's line is all the worse when our revolutionary slogans are also soft-pedalled. In consequence, the leading role of the Communist Party is hidden, and the incentive of militant workers to join our Party or remain within it is not stimulated; for why should they affiliate themselves to our Party if they cannot see the advanced character of its program and activities?

c. *The independent role of the Party.* In mass movements of various

kinds based upon the united front of progressive and Left elements it is not enough that the Party support activities conducted solely under the banner of the united front. It must also develop its own activities as a Party, both in support of the united front line, and also of its own more advanced Communist Party program. This is good for the mass movement and good for our Party. In all situations the Communist Party must come forward with its own proposals, press, literature, meetings, etc., and thus show its face clearly to the masses. Only when this is done effectively will the masses appreciate the role of the Party as a leading force and be really impelled to join its ranks.

But we neglect all this grievously in the practice. Too often we do all our work under the official auspices of the mass organization and next to nothing under our own Party's banner. This is

a definitely liquidatory tendency which must be changed. The Party must function independently as a Party, as well as jointly with other groups within the united front. To do it is a prime necessity for it to develop political mass leadership.

d. *A militant Party initiative.* The Party must also display a strong initiative, both in furthering the accepted program of the united front and in blazing the way to higher forms of struggle. How this can be done effectively is shown by the daily practice of the French and Spanish Communist Parties, whose militant initiative in the shaping of policies and the inauguration of united front actions is a prime basis of their mass leadership. They are the driving force in the People's Front; they lead it from ahead, push it from behind, build it up from the bottom. It is obvious that our Party must cultivate more of this mili-

tant initiative and fighting spirit. In too many cases Party forces accept the initiative as resting more or less automatically in the hands of others. There is too much routinism in our mass work; too much tailing after various mass movements. In the days of the T.U.U.L. our task was to cultivate the initiative of the Red unions which were somewhat overwhelmed by the Party's militancy; but now our task is to develop the initiative of the Party within many vigorous mass movements. More militant initiative and a more active and fighting spirit will do very much in winning added mass leadership and increased numerical strength for our Party and the *Daily Worker*.

E. *Organizational leadership.* Communists must not scramble for official posts in mass organizations, as this can only alienate us from valuable mass elements. It is, of course, necessary that

we Communists acquire our organizational share of leadership in the People's Front. But this can be accomplished only by superior work in the class struggle. Our advance to greater official leadership must be primarily on the basis of agreement and joint slates with our progressive united front allies in common struggle against the reactionary elements. It is no serious problem for Communists to become officials in this way if they show themselves to be the best workers and leaders in the daily fights around the immediate issues of the workers.

In this matter our Party practice displays many errors and weaknesses. There are some comrades who, with a fear of Red-baiting, are satisfied if they get "recognition" from their united front allies and passively allow the latter to occupy more than their fair share of major official posts. This is wrong; for Communists are no "blush-

ing violets" that stand modestly aside while others assume responsibility in the class struggle. Then there are other comrades who, with a narrow sectarian line, make the worse error of failing to make proper united front alignments with the progressives especially in union elections, and thus they carry on needless struggles against our potential allies for control, which tend to isolate the Party from the masses.

The Communist Party is not out to "capture" the mass organizations, and it by no means assumes that all competent and honest leadership is contained in its own ranks. It works for a People's Front based on a joint leadership by all progressive forces. Communists must use restraint, flexibility, and good judgment in building up the official mass leadership. We must learn to work cooperatively and in confidence with all progressive anti-fascist elements throughout the mass move-

ments. We must ever bear in mind that the strengthening of the united front is the immediate goal of every step we take throughout the mass movements. This is a vital necessity for the development of the Party's maximum political leadership and to facilitate the Party's growth.

IN CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages I have undertaken to analyze the problem of building our Party from the standpoint of the specific conditions confronting us in the growing People's Front movement in the United States. I have tried to show:

1. That the objective situation is highly favorable to the growth of the Party and that if our Party is not growing faster the cause is to be found elsewhere than in the objective situation.
2. That all our organizational methods need to be restudied and modern-

ized in the light of the situation of united front, mass radicalization, and sharp class struggle in which the Party finds itself in this period of the birth of the People's Front movement.

3. That the degree of political mass leadership exercised by the Communist Party is a basic factor in Party building and that we must improve our work in this respect.

4. That our Party can definitely improve its position of political mass leadership by overcoming various erroneous theories current in the Party, that objective conditions are unfavorable, by sharpening up its work in the advocacy of immediate demands and revolutionary slogans, by showing its face more clearly to the masses and by generally improving upon the Party's independent activities, concentration and initiative.

5. That the development of Communist mass political leadership can

only proceed upon the basis of strengthening the united front with the progressive elements and intensifying the mass struggle of the toilers and for the creation of the People's Front.

The sum and substance of the article is that we have in our hands the possibilities of greatly increasing the Party's tempo of development and growth. By adopting the suggested improvements our Party can make real progress towards its goal of becoming a broad mass Communist Party.

Our Party should bear in mind Stalin's timely statement (*Foundations of Leninism*, p. 162):

"The Party should march at the head of the working class, it should see farther than the latter, it should lead the proletariat, and not lag behind. . . . Only a party which is conscious of its function as vanguard of the proletariat, which feels itself able to inspire the masses with a proletarian class conscious-

ness, only such a party can lead the workers out of the narrow path of trade unionism and consolidate them into an independent political force. Such a party is the political leader of the working class."

The Party and the People's Front

By ALEX BITTELMAN

COMRADES, the report of Comrade Browder and the resolution presented to this plenum have given our Party a powerful weapon for initiating the most important work before us today. That is the building of our Party as a more effective and leading force in the struggle for the united and People's Front. I am convinced that, as a result of this Central Committee meeting, if the Party takes hold of these documents, the report of Comrade Browder, the resolution, and the summary of the discussion which we are having here, and uses them to arouse the Party, to draw every member into

the task of building the Party, it will really begin moving on the road toward making a mass party out of our organization.

SHIFTING POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS

From this angle, I should like to discuss further some of the highlights of Comrade Browder's report, first of all, about the political situation. Comrade Browder said that the political condition of the country is in flux, that class relationships are changing, and that as a result, although not in the same tempo, changes are taking place in the parties which necessarily reflect the shifting of class forces. This is a fundamental point in understanding the present-day political conditions, as well as the perspectives.

It is a fact, as Comrade Browder explained, that the Republican Party of today is not the same party, not the same traditional Republican Party.

Nor is the Democratic Party. It is a fact which no one will deny, a fact which we made known some time ago, before the last November elections—that the Republican Party has become the center of reaction and fascism, the main concentration ground of these forces, and that the Democratic Party, under pressure from the independent struggles of the masses in the country, as well as the progressive elements within, is moving generally in a progressive direction. That is correct. From this, certain very important conclusions follow as to the immediate perspectives in the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party, concerning our tactics and policies.

What is the perspective of the reactionary forces in this country so far as alignments are concerned? We don't have to guess about it. We know it. The reactionaries are doing their best today to undermine and break up the

Democratic Party. It might be more correct to say that they are trying to undermine and break up the hold of President Roosevelt on the Democratic Party. It is not hard to understand why they are trying to do this.

First, from the point of view of immediate consideration. If the reactionaries can destroy Roosevelt's hold upon the Democratic Party and its machine, this will weaken the very modest program of the Democratic Party and therefore create for themselves a new basis for consolidation of the reactionary forces. That would immediately reflect itself on such questions as balancing the budget, taxation, relief, or anything that is vital to the interests of the masses, and which determines today class alliances and class struggle.

But aside from the immediate point of view, reactionaries view this condition from the angle of the longer

perspective. There are going to be important municipal elections this year, and then a Congressional election in 1938, and then the next Presidential election. The reactionaries feel that if they can weaken the Democratic Party by undermining Roosevelt's standing in that party, they have created the possibility of preventing the progressive forces in the Democratic Party from playing an important role or a decisive role in the political life of the country.

It is not absolutely certain to anyone what will happen, but so far as reactionary plans are concerned, it is clearly visible what they are driving at. They cannot hope to bring the Republican Party to victory either in the next Congressional elections or in 1940, unless they destroy the New Deal in the Democratic Party, or the Democratic Party as such, as a major political party.

The wide masses of workers, especially those who are being drawn into the big mass movements—the C.I.O., Labor's Non-Partisan League—while they might not always be conscious of the implication of events, today sense this situation. They feel that as things are now, and until the national Farmer-Labor Party emerges as a power, the only effective force that stands between them and a victory of reaction on a really large scale is Roosevelt's hold upon the Democratic Party.

From this, of course, all kinds of conclusions are being drawn, and many of them wrong conclusions. But the fact in itself nevertheless remains a fact, that at the present time, when there is no mass Farmer-Labor Party powerful enough to contest for power and win, the masses know that if this is not in existence there is something else in existence, the Democratic Party

which, though it includes reactionaries, fascists and semi-fascists, is dominated nationally by middle-of-the-roads like Roosevelt himself, supported by people to the Left, well to the Left, progressives, labor men, and potential adherents to the Farmer-Labor Party in the United States, and that due to certain developments in the country this has become a force that stands in the way today of a wider extension of reaction either on the economic or political field.

Comrade Browder has demonstrated this very concretely and constructively in his report. The conclusion is that we must take into account this attitude of the wide masses, and especially that of the C.I.O. and groups around it, and from this, *and on the basis of this*, proceed to push further the development toward the Farmer-Labor Party.

Does that mean that we accept all the illusions that some of the C.I.O.

people may have about this situation? Of course not. And we must not be quiet about such illusions. Where we find illusions existing that stand in the way of promoting further the advancement of the progressive movement toward the Farmer-Labor Party, we must dissipate them by propaganda and agitation. This is how the vanguard can function at the present time.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST

PARTY

You see, there is no need to have any blueprint worked out for the vanguard, for all times and all countries. Marx didn't do it, Lenin didn't do it and Stalin didn't do it either. It depends upon the political maturity of the class forces and Party forces in a given situation, in which the proletarian revolution develops and the vanguard functions.

Now, to give you an example—the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October, 1917, was the vanguard of the Russian working class, and as the vanguard, it proceeded to organize the socialist revolution. The Communist Party of the United States, being a Communist Party, a Party of Lenin and Stalin, is the vanguard of the working class of America. But nobody will conclude that therefore we must decide to organize now the socialist revolution in the United States. This, of course, is extreme. It is made purposely, so as to show the historic approach to the question of what a vanguard like us can do *at various historical periods*. It always must be a vanguard, but in what sense? It must always fight shoulder to shoulder *in the front ranks of its class* for the interests of that class. That is true always, under all conditions.

Second, the Communist Party, while fighting for the daily needs of the

masses as part of that class, must always by propaganda, by agitation, and by our independent actions, show the workers the deeper meaning of their struggles; show them the next step, and work with this aim—that the whole movement, not only we alone, become ripe for making these next steps.

A Communist Party whose struggle, whose class relations are more acute, whose political struggle is more mature, will play a more leading role than others, though all Parties are destined to play a leading role in the class struggle and in the people's movement generally. I say this in order to emphasize what has been explained by Comrades Foster and Browder and in the resolution. The point is to emphasize it so that it stands out very clearly. We cannot permit ourselves to work in mass organizations like any other member does. We must al-

ways work as Communists, which means something more.

And to further emphasize why we, as the vanguard, must always endeavor to bring the movement forward to its next step, let me discuss the idea of pushing forward the whole movement and not just ourselves. There was a time when our Party and the situation in the country were much less mature than today. We were a Party mainly of propaganda and agitation and leaders of minority movements. Very important ones. Movements which played a very great role in making possible the present-day upsurge, but, nevertheless, minority movements. Then, we could more easily afford to make a more rapid transition in the direction from a lower stage to higher stages. But today, when we have the C.I.O. and a new working class movement of the country marching in the direction of progress, it has become somewhat

different. It becomes possible not only for ourselves and minority movements to become ready to make the next step, but by working properly, in a correct way, to prepare the ground for the whole movement making that next step. And I believe that by carrying forward these policies in the true spirit of *The Communist Manifesto*, our Party can really build itself as a mass party in this country.

THE NEED FOR BUILDING

A MASS PARTY

Comrade Browder in his report said that the fact that our Party is not growing as it should grow, and that our *Daily Worker*, one of the best papers in this country and a Communist paper at that, is growing so slowly, is an intolerable situation. I should like every comrade to take back home exactly this fact—that it is an intolerable situation. It must be changed. We have

to make our Party understand why it is intolerable. And why is it? Is it on some general abstract ground that it is intolerable? And are there some more immediate and more acute reasons why it is intolerable?

I want to communicate to you a certain opinion relating to this problem given to me by a sympathizer of our Party, a very intelligent person and very helpful to the Party in many ways and a friend in the best sense of the word. And he wanted to know why it is that the Communists are so anxious about getting more members in the Party. He said: "You have about 40,000 members, or thereabouts, conscious Communists, well-organized, well-disciplined. They are really leaders, not just rank and file. You have a press. You have a program and a political strategy which command attention among the widest masses throughout the entire world, and you

are making your general political influence very strongly felt in many places, thus enabling the movement to go in the correct direction."

"Is it true," he wanted to know, "that the general direction in which the C.I.O. is going is the direction in which you would like it to go?"

And I answered: "Yes."

"Then why," he asked, "are you so anxious about the slow growth of the Party? The social revolution is not yet around the corner. For the present, you can fulfil all your important tasks with the approximate number that you have."

"If you begin to grow, since, even from your own point of view, you will have to work with the progressive allies, will these allies not become fearful of a much larger Party? Would it not be better strategy to remain about your present size and still influence the movement sufficiently by your correct

policies? Of course, you have got to recruit, but why be so impatient?"

I found the exposition of this point of view very important, from this angle—that it contains a certain plausibility, that truth and untruth are so well mixed here that I should not be surprised to find that this is not only the viewpoint of this sympathizer, but that there are perhaps many other sympathizers with the same point of view. Perhaps some within our own Party hold this view. There may be a feeling that: Well, of course we want to be a bigger Party; who doesn't want the Party to be a bigger Party? But why is it so essential that we now must go ahead and become bigger? Well, why is it necessary?

Let me go back to Engels for a minute and what he thought was the peculiar nature of the American labor movement. He said: One thing that distinguished the American labor

movement from other countries, at that time, was that the American working class has been making numerous starts, beginnings, upsurges, of tremendous importance in scope, in militancy, and in revolutionary display of instinct, and suffered just as many set-backs. We know that to be a fact ourselves. That is true. And then Engels said: Why was it so? And he answered: Because these big mass movements of the American proletariat lacked the backbone of a revolutionary party, the vanguard. Engels said: Of course setbacks are inevitable, though we always fight against them, but when there is a revolutionary party within the working class, the setbacks will not occur so often. And when they do occur they will not be so disastrous, but when there is no revolutionary party within the working class, they will always be disastrous.

Today we are facing an upsurge of

the working class, unseen and unheard of in the United States before, an upsurge which Comrade Dimitroff is able to characterize as the birth of the American working class as a class. Objective conditions today, if we see them nationally and internationally, and we cannot separate the two, are very favorable for the continued growth of this new working class into a position, both organizationally and politically, of continued power and strength.

Yet it is perfectly just to ask, are we guarding against setbacks? No, we are not. Things may take place which we cannot foresee. But we can see the strong reactionary power and strength in this country, there is plenty of reserve power, economic and political, for reaction to give us plenty of headaches and troubles in the coming months and years. We are not insured against setbacks, even for this tremendous change that is taking place

in the country today. And if we will remember the history of the American labor movement and its lessons, then we will realize why it is important to have a bigger, a mass Communist Party to cement and push forward the present upsurge, for its success, and thus bring nearer the socialist revolution. It is, I believe, for this reason that Comrade Browder in his report, Comrade Foster in his speech, and the political resolution before us, say that the slow growth of the Party and the *Daily Worker* is intolerable, that we have to begin to build the Party and to make it a mass party.

Again, by way of emphasis, the Party will be built if every Party member takes part in the building of it. The Party will be built and the *Daily Worker* will be built if every Party member and every Party organization makes this one of their main tasks.

PARTY AND MASS MOVEMENT

BUILT TOGETHER

Now in this connection I should like to say a few words. Is it correct to put up as one against another, as being in opposition, the building of the Party and the building of the mass movement? Can we say that when we build the trade unions, the People's Front, we build it for somebody else? And when we build the Party, we build for ourselves? I do not think so. I do not think that in this fashion we will really mobilize the Party to build the Party.

What is wrong with our organizational condition and methods today? It is precisely that we do not do these two things simultaneously, both things, *build the Party and build the mass movement as part of, an all-inclusive great task of preparing the victory of the working class in this country.* It is only when we can make every Party member understand that if he is a good

trade union organizer but does not utilize every action in his trade union work, in whatever form that conditions may dictate, to build the Party, recruit for the Party, raise the prestige of the Party's paper, *he is not doing a complete job, a Communist job*. In the same way, if he goes about recruiting Party members, building the Party press circulation, but is not doing it in a way to build the general movement, the People's Front, he is not doing a complete job, a Communist job. A Communist job, a complete job, is to strengthen the mass movement; and to strengthen the mass movement is to get better results for building the Communist Party. Only in this way can and will we build the Communist Party.

MARXIST PROPAGANDA AMONG THE MASSES

In conclusion, on one of the essential phases of building the Party. I men-

tion only one phase, because many have been discussed already, and time does not permit to discuss all of them. The one phase I want to pick is the propaganda of Marxism among the masses, the propaganda among the masses of the special role of our Party, and of the special class tasks of the proletariat in the struggle for socialism.

The *Daily Worker* has not been fulfilling this task as it should, and if the *Daily Worker* doesn't do it, the chances are that in the Party as a whole the job will not be done well. The prestige of the *Daily Worker* is growing, not only in the Party but outside also. It is therefore becoming an important, more potent and influential weapon in building the mass movement and building our Party. It is, therefore, necessary when we speak of improving our propaganda on a wide mass scale, the propaganda of Marx-

ism, that we first of all turn our attention to the *Daily Worker*, the *Sunday Worker*, and how we can best organize the work through these mediums.

When we speak today of the propaganda of Marxism—the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on a mass scale—we are not indulging in the use of phrases but we are proposing to meet not only a need, but something possible and realizable. It wasn't always so. But today, listening to the reports of the comrades from the districts, what did they report? That the workers today are thinking politically, they have problems and want them solved. And if the workers have political problems and want them answered, this is our opportunity to bring to them Marxist answers to their questions. Therefore, instead of spreading Marxism on a small scale, *we must become active on a large scale*

and meet the needs of the masses by the widest circulation of Marxist literature.

In this Marxist propaganda, I wish to emphasize two points. First, something which we seem to forget—the special role of our Party in the given historical conditions—not abstractly, but in the given historical conditions. I think it could not have been better put than by Comrade Dimitroff in his recent article,* when he said that in the present historical conditions the Communist Party fulfils the role of the vanguard by being a factor of unity in the ranks of the working class as well as in the ranks of the People's Front—a factor that promotes political enlightenment and understanding among the masses, pushes the movement forward, makes impossible the

* Georgi Dimitroff, "The Communists and the United Front," *The Communist*, June, 1937, p. 508.

victory of fascism and thus creates the prerequisites for socialism.

Second, in connection with this, the role of the working class as a class and the struggle for socialism in the United States. When we speak of propaganda of socialism, we do not mean merely copying the traditions of the Social-Democratic abstract presentation of socialism. When we speak of propaganda of socialism today in the present historical period, what do we mean? We mean the following: Systematic exposure of capitalist exploitation and of the fact that fascism is a product of capitalism. It means, second, that we must always point out the leading role of the working class in the liberation of mankind from the horrors of capitalism. It means systematically popularizing the victories of socialism in the Soviet Union. If we do that, we will thereby create the possibility for a much wider conversion of the work-

ers to the Communist Party and will also be building the independent power of the working class for influence and leadership in the struggle against reaction, fascism and war.

Developing Negro Communist Leaders

By JAMES W. FORD

DURING the last five or six years the Communist Party has made some fine headway among the Negro people. We have great prestige among the masses and great influence among certain organizations of the Negro people.

The Communist Party, by its ideology and in its organization of struggles for equal rights and opportunities and for cultural advancement, started a renaissance in the life of the Negro people in the United States. The struggles in behalf of the Scottsboro boys, for Angelo Herndon's freedom, for equality in the trade union move-

ment, for civil rights through peace and democratic movements, for opportunity of advancement in the political field, have not only resulted in great advancements for the Negro people generally, but have brought forth stalwart leaders and rank-and-file fighters among Negro men, such as Angelo Herndon and many others.

But wide recruitment into the Party, particularly of Negro women fighters and leaders, on the basis of these advances, sadly lags behind. We are therefore called upon to give the question of recruitment of Negroes into our Party serious organizational and political attention. Happily, we are reaching a turning point in our approach, appeal and work among Negro women.

It is a glorious thing to find at our plenum and in the Negro commission discussions that Negro women are clamoring to get into our Party. They

are beating at our doors. I think that is a mighty fine thing. We must find the way to make it possible for Negro women to get into our Party and into the fullest leadership in the Party. We must take lessons from the Negro organizations on this question. Women are the foremost leaders of the Negro people. Most organizations have an active women's leadership.

On June 6, a conference was held in Harlem by the women's commission on work among Negro women. It was a most successful conference. I will not speak about it in detail now. That, I am sure, will be done by the comrades of the women's commission. To win Negro women and involve them in mass activity, we must learn to take up in a mass way the special problems of Negro women and organize them for struggle.

I think, in the first place, we should give consideration to the organization

of women domestic workers. Do you know, comrades, that the greatest degree of employment among the Negroes as a whole is found, according to U.S. statistics, among domestics and personal servants? No one has to tell this audience of the working conditions of this category of workers. The fact is that they are not organized and it is difficult to organize them because of the peculiarities of the industry. We also find a great number of Negro women throughout the country among the laundry workers. If we develop struggle among these workers alone, we will bring thousands of them into organizations, and we will win hundreds of them for the Communist Party. Naturally, there are other categories. There are many white-collar workers, there are thousands of teachers, middle class and other categories.

The resolution of the women's commission on work among Negro women says:

"The main emphasis was on the promotion of cadres. It was proposed that special attention be given to Negro women on the basis of their special problems; that special women's training classes be organized where necessary, that more Negro women be brought forward in the leadership of the Party, trade union, C.I.O., unemployed and peace movements."

There is absolute agreement with this. In Chicago, for example, one of the best C.I.O. organizers in the Calumet region is a Negro woman. In Harlem one of the most active comrades in the United Aid Committee for Ethiopia is a Negro woman. I want to call your attention to a woman comrade who has been brought forward as the leader of the Workers Alliance in Harlem. This work had been led by one of our outstanding men comrades who recently was sent to Detroit. When this comrade left, the organization called a meeting to replace him. The Workers Alliance in

Harlem had become a mass movement. We needed a good comrade to take the place of the one who was leaving. We, of course, had had our eyes on a comrade for a long time—a woman comrade. She was called into the meeting of the executive and discussed the work of the Workers Alliance. At the conclusion some one arose and said, "I nominate Comrade Frankie Duty organizer for the Alliance." There was a unanimous decision. Comrade Duty has proved her worth.

Only today was there a mass demonstration of the relief workers in Harlem. Four thousand workers took part; thousands lined the streets. It was my pleasure along with Herbert Benjamin, national leader of the Workers Alliance, to lead this demonstration through the streets of Harlem with Mrs. Frances Duty. We were very proud. As we wound our way

through the streets of Harlem, workers along the line of march were constantly waving their hands in friendly greetings to Comrade Duty, hailing her by her name. It was a great thing. Here was a woman, who had become a mass leader—not only a woman leader, but a leader of one of the largest mass movements in Harlem—respected and accepted by the masses. That is the kind of leader that Comrade Dimitroff spoke of at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. That is the way we try, and want, to bring women leaders forward in Harlem and throughout the country. We, and I personally, feel very proud of Comrade Duty. She has qualified. It does us or the comrades no good unless we can continue this method of bringing leaders forward. Artificial promotion means nothing; it sometimes makes a lot of trouble for us.

I want to give another example.

Everybody here knows about the mass organization and movement in and around the Harlem hospital. Harlem hospital issues serve as a rallying ground for civic movements in the whole of Harlem. I don't want to relate the whole story of this development. But I must say a word about the comrade who did it, and how it was done. You know the comrade. She is a fine woman comrade. She is a nurse. She joined our Party some time ago, and began systematic work of agitation among the nurses and patients, with the knowledge that she had to do it at the risk of her job. She did it. She recruited one, then another and another into the Party. She worked under the guidance of the section committee. This work went on for a year or more. The unit grew. It finally grew to 40 members of the Party. Doctors were recruited. The group became a mass movement of more than

400 people in and around the Harlem hospital. Shop bulletins were issued. Today, this comrade is a mass leader in Harlem. She had no reservations; she simply worked. She respected the section leadership and did not fail to come every day to it for guidance. She had no subjective feelings about the Party nor about her work. She saw her duty to the people around her and did that duty. In all of my experience, I have seen no finer example of leadership, of an attitude to work and to the Party on the part of any of our comrades than that of this comrade. She is a member of the Harlem Division Committee of the Communist Party, and a member of the District State Committee. I have no doubt that she is going to become one of the outstanding leaders of our movement.

These two examples of women comrades show how to develop cadres and

leading mass personnel. Let us continue that method. It would be mighty fine if we could plunge into the organization of the domestic workers.

We have had the occasion to pay tribute at this plenum to one of the longest in Party membership among the leading Negro women comrades. I refer to Comrade Maude White, whose tenth anniversary in our Party is being celebrated this month. It was very fine of Comrade Browder to use this occasion to dramatize work among Negro women by paying tribute to Comrade White. Ten years, ordinarily, is not a long time, for example, we compare it to the long, brilliant record of Comrade Mother Bloor. But it is unusual for a Negro woman comrade. We do not have many who have been in the Party ten years.

BUILDING THE PARTY AMONG THE NEGRO PEOPLE

In order to build the Party among the Negro people and to extend the united Negro People's Front, it is necessary to renew our struggle for the immediate and elementary needs of the Negro people. Our Party must stand out as the independent fighters for the Negro people.

Another factor necessary in building the Party among the Negro people is the question of training and re-training our personnel. This was a special point on the agenda of the Negro Commission of the plenum. Comrade Bassett made an excellent report and outlined a program of reading, study, self-study courses and schools for speedily overcoming a very great shortcoming in this field.

If we make a careful analysis of our Negro personnel we find both among the leading forces as well as among

secondary leaders a woeful lack of systematic training in revolutionary theory and practice. We have, therefore, agreed to organize a national training school. We have agreed to require of comrades in leading work, who are unable to attend these schools, to submit a plan of self-study and reading.

There is a great need for pamphlets on Negro problems. A number of comrades have been assigned to write popular pamphlets.

We are emphasizing again that special attention be given to the organization of the Party apparatus in those districts where there are large concentrations of Negroes. The experiences in Harlem, Chicago and Cleveland should be extended. A special problem is daily attention on the part of the state or district bureaus to this work.

Following the plenum regional conferences in the biggest and most im-

portant districts should be organized and a representative of the Center should attend these conferences.

At a recent meeting of the Negro Commission held in New York, Comrade Browder said the following to us:

"I would say that the main feature of the past year has been that in the field of work among the Negro people. As in most of the other fields of our work, we have begun to realize on a mass scale the results of the line of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. We have begun to emerge from sectarian isolation and become a mass influence, a mass power. As in our Party work generally, this has been accompanied by a sharpening of all the problems involved in our work. All of our weaknesses and inadequacies come out most sharply now precisely because we have made some tremendous gains and thereby face responsibilities which politically we feel equipped to meet."

Problems of Developing Leading Forces

By CHARLES KRUMBEIN

A FEW thoughts to be emphasized on the question of inner-Party democracy. We stressed at the Ninth Convention, at the December Plenum, and since, the importance of political discussion in the lower organizations of the Party. Such political discussion will serve two major purposes:

1. It will give all our Party members a degree of political education;
2. Since the discussion will be around main issues confronting the masses and the Party policy thereon, the membership will be participating in the enriching and broadening of that policy, in actually helping to

formulate the policy, which means a broadening out of our inner-Party democracy.

Further, on the question of inner-Party democracy, it is my opinion that we must extend generally the setting up of delegated bodies, on a ward, assembly district, county and city basis, these delegated bodies to be the leading body in the given territory, deciding policy for their territory within the general line of the Party, and working out the application of policy and decisions of the higher bodies. All this within the scope of democratic centralism: the delegated bodies to be set up on the basis of proportional representation of the units and branches, with special consideration to the main problems of the territories in the selection of the delegates. The delegated bodies should meet monthly, giving their main attention to some one important mass

problem and the Party's policy and activities related thereto. The delegated body should elect the officers and an executive committee to meet between the regular meetings of the delegated body. Were the officers to be chosen in any other way, there would be a rift between the delegated bodies and the officers which would not strengthen inner democracy but create additional problems.

Now, as regards personnel, I wish to make a few concrete suggestions that the entire Party can immediately adopt:

1. Every district should build up what I chose to term a "live list" of personnel. On a district scale, they should include the members of the district committee, members of the section committees, the leaders of the most important units and branches, and Party comrades who are leaders in

mass organizations but are not on these committees.

This should not be the old type of biography, but should briefly state a comrade's background, his experience—organizational as well as educational—and there should be space left to keep the list alive—the comrade's political and organizational development, responsibility, initiative, reliability, etc. These lists cannot be kept alive unless the entire district leadership is continuously on the alert; at meetings and otherwise they should watch the activities of the comrades that are listed, noting their progress or retrogression; they must turn this information over to the personnel director, to be then turned over to a comrade who does the technical work on the list. Two purposes are hereby served: (a) a greater consciousness on the part of the district leadership as regards personnel; and (b) the prac-

tical use that this list will have for the selecting of comrades for given work, setting up of commissions, committees, etc.

This can also be done in a large number of sections, the lists to include the section committee, the branch executives, the unit bureaus, and Party comrades in leadership in mass organizations on a section scale.

2. Another practical proposition as regards personnel is to apply Comrade Stalin's proposal of two deputies for every functionary, making allowances, of course, for the difference between the situation in the Soviet Union and in the United States. Cannot we at least, all of us, from the Central Committee down to unit leaders, select one or two comrades for the purpose of cultivating them, organizing our work so that we can find time to discuss Party as well as personal problems with these comrades—per-

sonal problems in the sense of the particular work that they are doing, and also other personal problems that they may have?

Cannot we, in addition, systematize our life at least to the point where we can have these comrades go to eat with us occasionally; spend a recreational Sunday with them and their families, during which time we could discuss "shop" a little? I am sure that with very little effort, but some systematic organization, this can be done. In this way literally thousands in our Party will be helped and our Party generally will be benefited.

In my recent trips to the districts I became very conscious of what I consider a serious defect in our approach to comrades. In a number of places I found leading comrades, when considering comrades for certain posts or committees, appraise them first from the standpoint of their

weaknesses, and often reach the conclusion that they are not fit. Comrades, we have no ideal people. All of us have weaknesses, but all of us have more of the positive than the negative. The approach must be, first, the positive side of every comrade, at the same time considering his weaknesses, placing him in a position where the positive side can be utilized and where we can collectively help to correct the weak side. If this approach is made, many more comrades will be brought forward into leading positions, much more use will be made of our human material.

I now want to raise a question or two as regards shop papers. Reviewing a number of shop papers from different sections of the country, as well as different industries, I was able to obtain quite a good picture of the political content of these valuable instruments of ours—valuable since they

reach hundreds of thousands, and in many cases, basic workers. I want to deal with only one phase of the question, and that is, bringing the Party forward.

Most of the papers that I reviewed do not bring the Party forward at all. In some instances, the Party is brought forward only in so far as the immediate economic or organizational issues of the particular shop are concerned, and in no instance is the Party brought forward as the Party of socialism. The vast majority of the shop papers contain nothing more than what a militant trade union paper carries. Some of them bring in such questions as the Supreme Court issue, Spain, etc. This is very good; but again, a militant trade union paper also brings in these questions. Therefore, it can be seen that unless our papers carefully, simply and systematically connect the immediate issues

of the shop with the general problems of the working class and the common people, and from that to the need of socialism, using the examples of the Soviet Union as the final and permanent solution of all the problems, it will not be possible for the Party to gain the leadership of the majority of the workers and eventually win them for its full program.

Many of the shop papers contain a box asking the reader to join the Party. But this must surely confuse those readers, where the content of the paper is very similar to the organizational and political content of the union or its paper. The workers, in such cases, do not understand why a Communist Party is necessary, since the shop paper does not bring out the fact that our Party is the party of socialism.

Of course, this problem cannot be solved in a mechanical way. Every

shop, factory, mill and mine has a different composition of workers and different problems, and these factors must be taken into consideration; but, generally, it must be said that the shop papers must be improved, first connecting the general issues and problems of the working class and the common people as a whole with the immediate problems of the shop, and from this, propagandizing the need for socialism as the only and final way out.

The last point I wish to make is that the reports on recruiting to the Party show that a large number of active and leading trade unionists are being brought into the Party. A key question, therefore, is the education of these comrades. Educating them in Marxism-Leninism makes them better leaders and equips them to transmit this education to thousands upon thousands of workers in the shops and

in the unions. This in turn lays the base for real mass recruiting to our Party and mass circulation for our *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*.

This is not an easy problem to solve, since these comrades are very busy building and giving leadership to their unions. But I am sure that they are confronted with many problems and the workers are asking them many questions which they find difficult to answer. They would be very grateful if ways and means were found whereby these questions could be made clear to them. A practical suggestion in this connection, it seems to me, is for district and section organizers to organize an informal meeting once a week of about two hours' duration on a Sunday morning or some other time, where a talk could be given on the events of the week, with a Marxist-Leninist interpretation, followed by questions and discussion. It may not

be possible to get many of them together to start with, but I feel certain that if those brought together feel that they are really getting something out of these meetings—something that will help them in the course of their work—the news will spread and the attendance will increase, so that meetings such as this can become a real institution, the value of which would be tremendous.

This suggestion is only one means; others surely can be found. That we are confronted with a problem in this connection must be obvious to everyone, and the problem must be solved. Full-time and part-time Party training schools must be organized on a greater scale than ever before, and as many of the trade union comrades as possible brought to these schools. The unit and fraction meetings must develop political discussions so that these trade union comrades will be

benefited. But, in addition to this, I emphasize that special means must be found for educating, in a Marxist-Leninist way, these trade union leaders who are joining our Party in large numbers and who are the Party's contact with hundreds of thousands of basic workers.

HEYWOOD BROWN, President, American Newspaper Guild: "It has made itself part of the American tradition. . . . An excellent newspaper."

J. J. McCONNELL, Congressman from Montana: "The Daily Worker is America's outstanding labor newspaper."

The Daily Worker

New York, N. Y.

35 East 12th Street

Read it Every Day!

They Say of
The Daily Worker:

EARL BROWDER, general secretary, Communist Party: "It is already one of the indispensable papers of America for all people who want to be well-informed."

HEYWOOD BROWN, President, American Newspaper Guild: "It has made itself part of the American tradition. . . . An excellent newspaper."

J. J. McCONNELL, Congressman from Montana: "The Daily Worker is America's outstanding labor newspaper."

The Daily Worker

35 East 12th Street

New York, N. Y.

Read It Every Day!

**A LIBRARY OF TEN CLASSICS
OF MARXISM-LENINISM**

1. *The Communist Manifesto*—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels
2. *Value, Price and Profit*—Karl Marx
3. *Wage-Labor and Capital*—Karl Marx
4. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*—Frederick Engels
5. *Imperialism*—V. I. Lenin
6. *State and Revolution*—V. I. Lenin
7. *"Left-Wing" Communism*—V. I. Lenin
8. *The Teachings of Karl Marx*—V. I. Lenin
9. *Foundations of Leninism*—Joseph Stalin
10. *Program of the Communist International*

This minimum library of political education consists of ten fundamental classics dealing with the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. The selection is designed for individual or group study.

860 pages. In a handsome slip case.

Special price \$1.25.

Order from your nearest bookseller or from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D

New York City

Keep Abreast of World Events! Read

The Communist

A monthly magazine issued by the Communist Party of the U.S.A., dealing with the most vital social, economic and political issues of the day.

Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00

The Communist International

Monthly publication of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, containing articles by outstanding leaders of the world Communist Parties.

Single copies 15 cents. Subscription \$1.75

International Press Correspondence

(Inprecorr)

A weekly review of political events on the international arena.

Single copies 10 cents. Subscription \$5.00

Special Combination Offer

A subscription to all three of these important publications for one year may be had for the

Special Price of \$7.20

Order from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
P. O. Box 148, Sta. D, New York City